

THE DOXOLOGY OF THE SEVEN GENERALS OF ANTIOCH

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The Equestrian warriors constitute an integral part of Coptic art and piety¹. The martyrs of Antioch, (The Basilides' Family) this group of martyrs is considered as members of a legendary royal or noble family of Basilides. There are several genealogies included in their martyrdoms but without any consistency. This group includes the martyrdoms of Claudius, Basilides, Apater and Iraie, Macarius, Eusebius, and in some texts the names of Theodore, Victor, Besamon, Justus, Apoli, Theoclea are added². They are mentioned in the *memento sanctorum* in the Coptic Psalmodia³. In his study Winstedt shows that there is no fixed genealogy of this family⁴. Orlandi in the entry of the Coptic Encyclopedia used the word "Cycle" to denote this group. The text edited hereafter contains a doxology Adam⁵ for the commemoration of the seven generals of Antioch.

Our text commemorates another group of saints.

Description of the Manuscript

This text is included in the Manuscript Copte 69 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. We will give here in full the description of this manuscript by Delaporte.

85

THÉOTOKIES ET DOXOLOGIES (*bohairique*) avec traduction arabe.

1r-24v Psalmodie. 26r-116r Psallies et Théotokies pour les sept jours de la semaine. 117r-123r Cantique des Anges. 124r-149r Doxologies (TON

¹ Meinardus, *Coptic Saints*, 33-37.

² Orlandi, "Hagiography", *Copt.Enc.* IV, 1191-1197.

³ Youssef, "Notes on the Magma", 111-124.

⁴ Winstedt, *Coptic Texts*, I-XXVII; Horn, *Untersuchungen*.

⁵ For the doxologies cf. Abd al-Masih, "Doxologies", 97-113; "Bihairic Doxologies I", 31-61 and "Bihairic Doxologies II", 95-158.

ΒΑΘΟC) en l'honneur de la Vierge, Michel, Gabriel, Raphaël, Souriel, les quatre animaux incorporels (ΠΑ ΝΖΩΟΥΝ...), les vingt-quatre vieillards, saint Jean-Baptiste (2), les disciples (titre: ΝΙΑΛΛΟΥΓΙ), les apôtres les trois jeunes gens, les saints Etienne, Georges, Théodore le Stratélate, Mercure, les martyrs (titre: ΟΥΘΩΟΥΤC ΜΗ), Macaire et ses disciples, (titre: ΠΙΘΩΟΥΤC ΝΝΙΑΓΙΟC) les staurophores (titre: ΟΥCΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΝΝΙΑΓΙΟC) Elie le Thesbite, l'évangéliste Marc, la Vierge et Sévère d'Antioche. 149r-152v Deux professions de foi et symbole. 152v-186r Hymnes pour le Carême (2), le temps de la Pentecôte etc.. 187r-231v Doxologies (ton ΑΔΑΜ) en l'honneur de la Vierge (3), Michel (2), Gabriel (2), Raphaël (2) Souriel, les quatre animaux (2), les vingt-quatre vieillards (2), saint Jean-Baptiste (2), Les Innocents (2), les apôtres, les trois jeunes gens (2), Etienne (2), Georges, Théodore (2) Ménas, Victor, Philothée, les sept Stratélates, les autres martyrs (titre: ΠCΕΠΙ ΝΝΙΜΗ), Macaire le Grand, Paul, Antoine, Jean ΠΙΚΟΛΟΒΟC, Pischoi, Paul, Maxime et Domitius, Moïse le Noir, les quarante-neuf martyrs, Elie le Thesbite, Marc, la Vierge, Sévère d'Antioche.

223r-237r ΟΥCΥΝΑΤΟC CΤΥΧΟC ΑΔΑΜ. 237r-241v Synaxe (CΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ), ΤΟΝ ΑΔΑΜ. 242r-345v Explication (ΕΡΜΕΝΙΑ) des Théotokies. Ms. de 348 feuillets; 25x17 Sans date.

Ce manuscrit est coté au verso, en lettres coptes, de ̄r [feuillets 1] à ̄τ̄m [feuillets 343]; dans la pagination ̄ōr manque; ̄ōā et ̄ōb̄, ̄ōs̄ et ̄ōθ̄ sont inscrits sur un même feuillet au recto et au verso. Dans la numérotation en chiffres occidentaux, un feuillet a été oublié entre 104-105.

Chaque division est précédée d'un ornement en couleurs et, au verso du feuillet précédent, d'une rosace. Titres coptes, en rouge. Le texte commence par une ligne de majuscules, accompagnée d'arabesques à la marge. Grandes majuscules à tête d'oiseau; petites majuscules en rouge ou en noir rehaussé de rouge, ϕ et ϝ ont en général un point rouge dans la boucle.

F. IV –Saint-Germain, 50.

Invent.: Copte 69.⁶

We can add to this detailed description some notes:

1. The page before the last one contains an Islamic formulation

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

“In the name of God the clement and merciful”

2. The last page contains an inventory of the kitchen and these interesting comments

الليلة نعمل بعد العشا كنافه على الصنية
الفراخ المحمرة والضاني يشدو القلب يشد العظم والفسخ والمدمس نبي العظم
ويعمي البصر والسمع

⁶ Delaporte, *Catalogue*, N 85, p. 70-71.

Tonight we will bake after diner ‘*Kunafah*’⁷ on the tray.

The grilled chicken and the lamb strengthen the heart and support the bones while the salted fish and the *foul* weaken the bones and lead to blindness and deafness!

The Text

fol. $\overline{\text{CKA}}$

ΔΙΚΕΟΣ ΑΛΗΘΩΣ $\bar{\zeta}$ ΝΣΤΡΑΨΛΑΤΗΣ ΕΥΤΑΝΙΟΥΤ ΕΜΑΨΩ
 ΞΕΝ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑ
 ΙΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΠΕ ΠΙΨΟΡΠ ΝΕΜ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΤΗΣ ΝΕΜ ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ
 ΝΕΜ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ
 ΦΗΕΘ ΑΠΑΤΙΡ ΝΕΜ ΣΟΥΣΕΝΝΙΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΘΕΩΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΙΑ-
 ΝΑΤΟΛΕΟΣ
 ΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΕ ΝΙ $\bar{\zeta}$ ΝΛΑΜ {ΠΑΣ} ΕΥΜΟΖ ΑΓΕΡΟΥΩΙΝΙ ΕΜΑΨΩ
 ΞΕΝ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑ
 ΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΕ ΝΙ $\bar{\zeta}$ ΝΣΤΥΛΛΟΣ ΕΤΤΑΧΡΗΟΥΤ ΕΥΤΑΖΩΟΥ ΕΡΑ-
 ΤΟΥ ΞΕΝ ΤΑΥΛΗ ΜΠΟΥΡΟ
 ΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΕ ΝΙΣΩΤΠ ΝΚΛΑΤΟΣ ΕΤΣΩΤΠ ΕΥΦΙΡΙ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΕΤΟΠΤ ΝΚΑΡΠΟΣ
 ΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΕ ΝΙ $\bar{\zeta}$ ΜΠΟΛΕΜΙΣΤΗΣ ΕΤΧΟΡ ΕΜΑΨΩ ΞΕΝ
 ΝΙΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ
 ΑΥΜΙΩΙ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΙΡΑΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΑ $\bar{\delta}\bar{\varsigma}$ ΙΗ $\bar{\varsigma}$ ΑΓΕΡΨΑΙ ΝΕΜ Π $\bar{\chi}\bar{\varsigma}$
 ΞΕΝ ΤΕΦΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ
 ΖΙΤΕΝ ΝΙΕΥΧΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΙ $\bar{\zeta}$ ΝΣΤΡΑΨΛΑΤΗΣ Π $\bar{\delta}\bar{\varsigma}$ ΑΡΙ.

Truly and really seven generals were extremely honoured in Antioch.

Justus is the first, with Basilides, Eusebius and Macarius

Saint ApaTer, Susennius, Theodore the *Oriental*

These are the seven illuminating *lamps* that extremely shine in Antioch

These are the seven strong *pillars* established in the king’s *palace*

These are the chosen *branches*, blossoming and brought forth *fruit*⁸

These are the mighty great *warriors* in *wars*

They fought for (the sake of the) name of my Lord Jesus. They are feasting with *Christ* in His kingdom

Through the *prayers* of the seven *generals*, Lord grant...

⁷ A kind of sweet noodles.

⁸ Quotation from the ninth part of the Sunday’s Theotokia cf. Nahdat ‘I-Kanais, ΠΧΩΜ ΝΤΕ ΨΑΛΜΟΤΙΑ, 123.

Commentary

I. Hagiographical Commentary

This doxology mentions only seven generals while some members of this family are omitted such as: Victor son of Romanus, Claudius of Antioch, and Apoli (sometimes Leontius), who are mentioned in the *memoriam sanctorum*.

Justus⁹, (10 Amshir) His martyrdom is known in both Sahidic¹⁰ and Bohairic¹¹ dialects. This saint is not Justus who is commemorated on the 14 Hathor according to the Oxyrhynchus Calendar. Some oil lamps bear the inscription “of saint Justus”. His name occurs also in some prayers¹².

Basilides: (11 Tut) We do not have any special text but his name appears in several acts of martyrs such as the life of Eusebius.

Eusebius¹³: (23 Amshir) His martyrdom is known in Bohairic text¹⁴ in companionship of Claudius, ApaTer, Theodore The Oriental, and Justus.

Macarius¹⁵: (22 Abib) His martyrdom, attributed to Julius of Akfahs, is only preserved in Bohairic¹⁶. The text belongs to the third group of the corpus of Julius of Akfahs, which is characterized by exaggeration¹⁷. Most likely this text was written in the monastery of Saint Macarius at a very late date the author had access to several Coptic texts such as the acts of Victor, ApaTer and Iraie, Isidore. However Macarius’ cult is attested in a Papyrus from the VI century in the province of Aphrodito¹⁸.

ApaTer¹⁹: (28 Tut) The text of his Passion is extant, both in a Sahidic²⁰ and Bohairic versions²¹ However nothing is known about his cult²².

⁹ Orlandi, “Justus, Saint”, *Copt.Enc.* V, 1386-1387.

¹⁰ Winstedt, *Coptic Texts*, 188-199.

¹¹ Evelyn White, *New Coptic Texts*, 78-82.

¹² Papaconstantinou, *Le culte*, 108-109.

¹³ Orlandi, “Eusebius, Saint”, *Copt.Enc.* IV, 1069-1070.

¹⁴ Hyvernât, *Les Actes*, 1-39.

¹⁵ Orlandi, “Macarius, Saint”, *Copt.Enc.* V, 1489.

¹⁶ Hyvernât, *Les Actes*, 40-77.

¹⁷ Youssef, *Recherches*, 190-219; for a book review cf. Coquin et al., “Recherches”, 145-153.

¹⁸ Papaconstantinou, *Le culte*, 140.

¹⁹ Orlandi, “Ter and Erai, Saints”, *Copt.Enc.* VII, 2209.

²⁰ Orlandi, *Papiri copti*, K 2563 a-I; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Copte 129¹⁶ fol. 104.

²¹ Hyvernât, *Les Actes*. Roma, Bibiliotheca Vaticana, Copt. 63, fols. 1-65.

²² Papaconstantinou, *Le culte*, 91-92 mentioned only Herai his sister, or perhaps, another Hiraïs of Memphis.

Susennius: (26 Barmudah) only few Coptic fragments of the martyrdom of Susennios survived.²³ His biography is known in Greek. His commemoration is the 26 of Barmudah, and the following day 27 Barmudah is the commemoration of Victor son of Romanus who is considered as a member of the Basilides group, while Susennios is not considered elsewhere in connection with this family. It seems that the author of this doxology had substituted the name of Victor by that Susennios. If this is the case then the doxology should have been composed in a late date to the Synaxarium. This saint is one of the equestrian saints invoked for the magical rites²⁴. There is a wall painting from Bawit depicting him. A lamp with an inscription “Lamp of saint Sisinios”²⁵.

Theodore the Oriental²⁶: (12 Tubah) Many manuscripts both Bohairic²⁷ and Sahidic²⁸ transmitted his acts. For a long time it has been admitted that the legend of Theodore the Oriental was a Coptic legend²⁹, however the two puns in the Coptic martyrdom demonstrates clearly that this text was originally written in Greek³⁰. In some versions, he is linked to the Basilides Family being the son, Basilides’s colleague, Sadrikhos and His mother is Patricia, Basilides’s sister³¹. He is one of the popular saints in Egypt³².

The psali Adam for the *memento Sanctorum* mentions the Antiochene saints:

ΠΙΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΣ³³ ΚΥΡΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΣ ΠΙΑΛΟΥ
ΝΔΙΚΕΟΣ ΡΑΩΙ ΣΟΥΣΕΝΝΙΟΣ ΕΤΑΦΩΡΙ ΜΠΙΒΕΡΖΕΛΙΑ
ΡΑΩΙ ΚΥΡΙ ΙΟΥΤΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΑΠΑΛΙ ΝΕΜ ΘΕΟΚΛΙΑ ΣΒΟΣΙ ΠΕ
ΠΤΑΙΟ ΝΝΑΙΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑΗΣΙ ΝΕΜ ΘΕΚΛΑ ΝΕΜ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟΣ
ΤΩΝΚ Ω ΠΑΤΗΡ ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΝΣΩΤΗΡ ΒΙ ΝΗΡΑΗ ΤΕΚΩΝΙ
ΜΑΩΕΝΑΚ ΕΧΗΜΙ

²³ Lemm, “Berlelia”, 499-501. Delahaye, “Les Martyrs”, 75, 103, 129, 137.

²⁴ Meyer, “Les rituals”, 103-104.

²⁵ Papaconstantinou, *Le culte*, 190.

²⁶ Orlandi, “Theodorus, Saint”, *Copt. Enc.* VII, 2237-2238.

²⁷ Rom, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Copt. 66, fols. 172-98, ed. Balestri/Hyvernay, *Acta Martyrum*, 34.

²⁸ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 586.

²⁹ Delahaye, “Les Martyrs”, 5-154; 299-364.

³⁰ Youssef, “La genèse”, 107-110.

³¹ O’Leary, *Saints of Egypt*, 265-266.

³² Attested in many documents cf. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte*, 96-100.

³³ Read ΠΙΕΥΣΤΑΘΗΣ.

ΥΔΟΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΑΙΚΟCΜΟC ΝΕΜ ΝΕΦΛΟΓΙCΜΟC ΑΦΧΑΥ ΝΧΕ
ΒΑΣΙΛΙΤΗΣ ΠΙΝΙΨ† ΝΑΘΛΗΤΗΣ ΦΗΕΘ̄Υ ΝΓΕΝΝΕΟC ΠΙ-
 ΧΩΡΙ ΝΑΝΑΤΟΛΕΟC ΑΦΕΡΦΟΡΙΝ ΜΠΙΧΛΟΜ ΞΕΝ †ΖΡΩ
 ΝΧΡΩΜ³⁴

The *steadfast Lord* Claudius, and the *righteous* boy Philotheus
 Rejoice Susennios who stroke the *bloodsucker*, rejoice *lord* Justus,
 Apali and Theocleia.

Sublime is the honours of these *saints* Apaese, Thecla and Apol-
 lonius

Arise, o ApaTer, said our *Saviour*, take Iraie and go to Egypt
 Basilides, the great *fighter* detested *pleasure* of this *World* and its
wisdom.

The saint, *noble* and mighty, (Theodore) the *Oriental*, wore the
 crown in the flame of fire.

The doxology Batos mentions also

COYCENNIOC ΠICTPATIATHC ΝΘΟΦ ΑΦΨΑΡΙ ΜΒΕΡΖΕΛΙΑ
 ΠΙΑΓΙΟC ΚΥΡΙ ΙΟCΤΟC ΝΕΜ ΑΠΟΛΙ ΝΕΜ ΘΕΟΚΛΙΑ
 ΤΑΙΟ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΘΝΑΝΕΥ Α³⁵ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΤΗΣ ΑΦΕΜΠΨΑ ΜΜΩΟΥ
 ΝΕΜ ΕΥCΕΒΙΟC ΝΕΜ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΑΥΕΡΜΠΨΑ ΜΠΑΙΝΙΨ†
 ΝΩΟΥ
 ΥΠΠΕ ΓΑΡ Α ΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ CΑΧΙ ΝΕΜΑΚ ΚΥΡΙ ΑΠΑΤΗΡ ΧΕ
 ΤΩΝΚ ΒΙ ΝΗΡΑΗ ΤΕΚCΩΝΙ ΜΑΨΕΝΑΚ ΕΤΧΩΡΑ ΝΧΗΜΙ³⁶

Susennios the *general* is the one who stroke down the *bloodsucker*;
saint lord Justus and Apoli and Theocleia

Basilides is worthy of all beautiful honours; and Eusebius and
 Macarius are worthy of this great glory.

Behold *for* the *Saviour* spoke with you, lord ApaTer: “Arise and
 take Iraie, your sister and go to Egypt.”

The doxology Batos for the Seven Martyrs, the Generals, described
 by ‘Abd al-Masih give a different list of names including: Victor,
 Claudius, ApaTer and Iraie his sister and the concluding stanza is dedi-
 cated “victorious martyrs, the seven Children of Ephesus”³⁷.

³⁴ Labib, *†ΨΑΛΜΟΔΙΑ*, 525-526

³⁵ Sic. The auxiliary verb should be omitted.

³⁶ Labib, *†ΨΑΛΜΟΔΙΑ*, 527-528

³⁷ ‘Abd al-Masih, “Bihairic Doxologies II”, 150.

II. Thematical Commentary

Our text contains a meditation to the name of My Lord Christ

ΑΥΜΙΩΙ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΙΡΑΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΑΘ̅C̅ ΙΗ̅C̅ ΑΓΕΡΩΑΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΧ̅C̅
ΞΕΝ ΤΕΦΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ

They fought for my Lord Jesus' name sake. They feast with Christ in His kingdom

The meditation of "Jesus Christ name" is frequent in the daily psalis³⁸; and it goes back to the fifth century among the Egyptian monks³⁹.

III. Iconographical Commentary

The cult of the equestrian saints is well represented in the Coptic Art we can mention:

The wall paintings of the monastery of al-Suriani: we find two equestrian saints⁴⁰.

The wall paintings of the Church of Saint Antony, which were painted by Theodore in the years 1232-1233 AD show the following equestrian saints: **Theodore the Anatolian** (the Oriental), Claudius, Victor, Menas, Theodore the general; **Sussinius**, John of Heraclea, George, Phoebamon of Ausim⁴¹.

The church of the monastery of Martyrs near Esna, which is dated 1129/1130 or 1179/1180 has Theodore the General, Caudius and one anonymous equestrian saint.⁴²

The wall painting of the Keep of the monastery of Saint Macarius, which were painted by the monk Tekle the Abyssinian in the year 1517 AD, show **Basilides, Eusebios, Macarius, Justus** and Apoli⁴³.

The wall painting of the church of the monastery of Saint Paul, the narthex has wall painting of the equestrian saints, which are dated early eighteen century (1713 AD). The names of the saints are **ApaTer** and

³⁸ Lanne, "La prière", 163-203 and reprint (1997), 307-338.

³⁹ Guillaumont, *Monachisme chrétien*, 168-183. Some ameliorations in Kasser, "La prière", 407-410.

⁴⁰ Innemée/Van Rompay, "Deir al-Surian".

⁴¹ Bolman, *Monastic Visions*, 91-93.

⁴² Leroy, *Les peintures* I, 33, 39-48.

⁴³ Leroy, *Les peintures* II, 46-47; 113-114.

Iraie, Julius of Akfahs, Saint Menas, Saint James the Persian, Apa-Ishyrion, Isidore, saint Victor, **Theodore** the general, saint George⁴⁴.

The wall painting of the church of the Archangel Gabriel at the monastery Naqlun, we find three martyrs on horseback one of which is Saint Pichoshe according to the inscription the two others are anonymous, they may be Mercurius⁴⁵ or Claudius⁴⁶.

The icon of the equestrian saints is preserved in the church of Abu Seifein originally had ten saints but only six are preserved i.e. Philotheus, Victor, Menas, **Theodore**, George, and Isaak. The icon is dated on the basis of the art history to the thirteenth century⁴⁷.

The monastery of Bawit had a wall painting representing saint Susennios with an angel and the ΒΕΡΖΕΛΙΑ⁴⁸.

Each one of these equestrian representations makes their own selection by adding or omitting some saints.

IV. Commentary on Martyrdoms

The Book of the *Churches and Monasteries* attributed to Abu al-Makarim⁴⁹ mentioned among the generals of Antioch:

ApaTer (I, fol 1:50b) Church of Shubra al-Kum from the Island of Bani Nasr, the Church of ApaTer the martyr, who was a vizier of Diocletian the Apostate, when he (ApaTer) watched the endurance of the martyrs and their miracles as well as their suffering for Christ, till martyrdom, (with a good reasoning) that led him to confess the name of Christ and he was beheaded by sword and received the crown of martyrdom.

Susinius (III, fol. 148b) Church of the martyr Susinius in Antioch, **Me** (Susennius) is commemorated on the 26 of Barmudah, this (church) was built by Aristochus after the perdition of Diocletian the atheist....

⁴⁴ Moorsel, van, "Le monastère", 98-116.

⁴⁵ Godlewski, "Ancient Monastery", 165.

⁴⁶ Parandowska, "Preservation", 281.

⁴⁷ Skalova/Gabra, *Icons*, 184-186.

⁴⁸ Clédât, "La Nécropole", 80; 28.

⁴⁹ Our references refer to the edition of al-Suriani, *Tarikh*, 4 Vol., and also Evetts/Butler, *Churches*. For specific studies cf. al-Suriani, "Icônes", 78. (For codicology and Composition) Zanetti, "Abu L-Makarim", 85-133. (For the Authorship and Influence) Den Heijer, "Composition", 209-219. (Social study of the Delta) Martin, "Le Delta Chrétien", 181-199; "Alexandrie chrétienne", 45-49; "Chrétiens", 83-92. Youssef, "Multiconfessional churches", 45-54.

In Cairo, only two churches are named after Theodore while only one named after Apoli and Claudius⁵⁰.

Actually only Theodore has some churches named after him⁵¹ and only out of this list Saint Theodore has a pilgrimage site⁵².

In *his homily on Severus of Antioch*, the bishop of Assiut John gave another list of martyrs⁵³, where he mentioned

“And some of these still exist to this day: the church of lord **ApaTer** and his sister Iraïe which has in its midst the body of my lord Claudius the son of the king, **Theodore the son of Basilides**, which restores health to everyone faithfully requesting healing; and the church of my lord Isidore son of Panteleon and the palace of my lord, Mar Victor and the house of the martyr,* my lord, **Theodore** the guardian⁵⁴ of the land of Egypt, on the east side of the river in Bar Shutb, his father’s city, which is also in the vicinity of Assiut — he was also brought up in the city of Antioch; and the rest of the martyrs of the city of Antioch, whose churches in the city of Assiut were destroyed⁵⁵. Altars were erected for them in the church of the First Born, not by human hand, but by the hand of the highest power in that great city whose altar is the True Lamb; as John, son of thunder, said in the Apocalypse (Rev 21:22) and as the Apostle Paul said concerning the destruction of their palaces in Antioch: “For here, we have no lasting city” (Heb 13:14) but they had hope for the Living God who give life to all people.”

Conclusion

The author of this doxology is related to monastic circles hence we find the meditation to the Jesus name. The selection of saints shows that he was from Middle Egypt, hence we find the name **Susennios** commemorated in Bawit, **Theodore** and **ApaTer** in Assiut. He became a monk in the monastery of Saint Macarius hence we find some saints of Lower Egypt such as **Macarius**, **Eusebius**, **Basilides**, where the wall painting of the Qasr represents the same selection. The funny notes in the beginning of the manuscript shows that he was in a time of poverty.

This text shows an independent tradition from the Magma’ tradition. He should live around sixteenth century (the time of execution of the wall painting of the Qasr of Saint Macarius).

⁵⁰ Martin, “Dévotions populaires”, 313-320.

⁵¹ Cf. al-Syriani/Habib, *Guide*, 4 Muna al-Amir, 50, 57, 84, 88, 98, 106, 109, 129, 167.

⁵² Viaud, *Les Pèlerinage*, 45, 61 and for saint Victor p. 51.

⁵³ Youssef, “A homily” (Forthcoming).

⁵⁴ Taking the role of the Ancient Egyptian god Khnoum, cf. Youssef, “Autres exemples”, 157-160.

⁵⁵ Sic. Meaning that their churches in Assiut were destroyed as well as in Antioch.

Appendix

Doxologies and Psalies

Name	Synaxarium	Doxology	Psali	Difnar
Basilides	11 Tut	---	---	O'Leary I, p. 9
ApaTer	28 Tut	---	Philotheus 77, 84 (Hermina)	O'Leary I, p. 24-25
Theodore the Oriental ⁵⁶	12 Tubah	BSAC 6(1940) 46	Philotheus 370-376 (Nicodemus)	O'Leary II, p. 12-14
Justus,	10 Amshir	BSAC 11(1945) 103	---	O'Leary II, p. 41
Eusebius	23 Amshir	---	---	O'Leary II, p. 52-53
Susennius	26 Barmudah	BSAC 11(1945) 113-114	---	O'Leary II, p. 113-114
Macarius	22 Abib	---	---	O'Leary III, p. 34

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⁵⁶ The unique martyr of this Group who has relics cf. Meinardus, *Christian Egypt*, 191.

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